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RED-MEN'S ROADS

*The
Indian Thoroughfares
of the Central
West*

BY
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

N.A.
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H 87 r

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Received May 29, 1912.

J.W. Garrison

—
Accompanying author's
application for fellowship
in Harvard University
—



THE MUSKINGUM TRAIL.

View taken on the summit of Wallace Ridge, near Stockport, Ohio, where the Indians lay watching Big Bottom blockhouse across the Muskingum river the day preceding the night of the massacre.

RED-MEN'S ROADS

The Indian Thoroughfares
of the Central West

By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

Columbus, Ohio
FRED J. HEER & COMPANY
1900

N.A. TECH. H 872.
q. of F. W. Putnam
Rec'd May 29, 1912

Entered according to Act of Congress,
in the year 1900,

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NOTE

THE call for independent copies of my copyrighted monograph "The Indian Thoroughfares of Ohio" has led to its revision and publication in the present form. The new title "Indian Thoroughfares of the Central West" is quite as appropriate as the former, for, though most of the field work has been done in the state of Ohio, all the important trails had their destination without the state. When not otherwise stated, towns and counties mentioned are in Ohio.

. The monograph was written at the suggestion of Mr. Randall, the successful secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and was published in the January quarterly of that society.

Columbus, Ohio, January 26, 1900.

-→ To
Philadelphia

→
Baltimore.
r/a/n/d/

O THE
WEST.

DEMY'S RADS

HEAD of the old Ohio — the old and the new. The old Ohio was all of the portion of the central west situated to the east and easterly rivers which descended toward Lake Ontario or Lake Huron or New France. It included the territory between the Alleghenies and the Limestone and the great lakes save as we except the country of Illinois which first in history became a distinct province by itself as the frontier zone of Lower-Ohio became distinct later. As late as the Revolution war an English map termed "Ohio" south as well as north of the Ohio river.¹

If this central west the old Ohio "country" that part which lay north of the Ohio river contained a resident Indian population. That portion south of the river was the home of the central west — the "dark and bloody" battle-ground of surrounding nations half a century before the white man gave it that name.

North of the Ohio river, in the valleys of the Allegheny, Beaver, Monongahela, Scioto, Sandusky, Miami, Kalamazoo, Wabash and Illinois, more white men knew the redman intimately than perhaps anywhere in the United States in the eighteenth century. This knowledge of the Indian in his own home-land resulted in giving to the world a mass of material respecting his country, customs and character. Among other things this knowledge of the northern division of the old Ohio during the Indian regime made it possible to map it, and some of these maps are essentially correct.

¹Map with Pownall's "Middle British Colonies in North America 1759." (London, 1776).

→ To
Philadelphia



→ Baltimore.
and

O THE
WEST.

RED-MEN'S ROADS

HISTORY tells of two Ohios — the old and the new. The old Ohio was all of that portion of the central west drained by the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, which, together, formed *la Belle Riviere* of New France. It included the territory between the Alleghenies, the Mississippi and the great lakes, save as we except the country of Illinois, which early in history became a territory distinct by itself, as the meadow lands of *Kan-ta-kee* became distinct later. As late as the Revolutionary war an English map printed "Ohio" south, as well as north, of the Ohio river.¹

Of this central west (the old Ohio) only that part which lay north of the Ohio river contained a resident Indian population. That portion south of the river was the Korea of the central west — the "dark and bloody" battle ground of surrounding nations half a century before the white man gave it that name.

North of the Ohio river, in the valleys of the Alleghany, Beaver, Muskingum, Scioto, Sandusky, Miami, Maumee, Wabash and Illinois, more white men knew the redman intimately than perhaps anywhere in the United States in the eighteenth century. This knowledge of the Indian in his own home-land resulted in giving to the world a mass of material respecting his country, customs and character. Among other things this knowledge of the northern division of the old Ohio during the Indian regime made it possible to map it, and some of these maps are essentially correct.

¹Map with Pownall's "*Middle British Colonies in North America 1776*," (London, 1776).

The eastern half of the northern division of the old Ohio lying between the Beaver and Miami rivers, offers special inducements to prosecute the study of this branch of Indian archæology, the Indian thoroughfares of the central west. Perhaps the more important conditions are not answered any better in any portion of the continent than in what is now the state of Ohio; it contained a resident Indian population; it was extensively visited during Indian occupation by explorers, traders, spies, armies, missionaries, surveyors and geographers, who studied and knew the land as it then was; and, finally, a last and imperative condition is answered, it is in part a hilly country.

It is possible to believe that in the earliest times the Indians travelled only on rivers and lakes. When they turned inland we can be practically sure that they found, ready-made and deeply-worn, the very routes of travel which have since borne their name. For the beginning of the history of roadmaking in this central west, we must go back two centuries, when the buffalo, urged by his need of change of climate, newer feeding grounds and fresher salt licks, first found his way through the forests. Even if the first thoroughfares were made by the mastodon and the moundbuilder, they first came to white man's knowledge as buffalo "traces," and later became Indian trails.¹ In Kentucky, which we have already noted as unoccupied by resident Indians, the word "trace" has come down from last

¹ A vivid description of the trails of Darkest Africa as seen by Du Chaillu and Stanley has come recently from the pen of Julian Hawthorne and may be interesting in this connection:

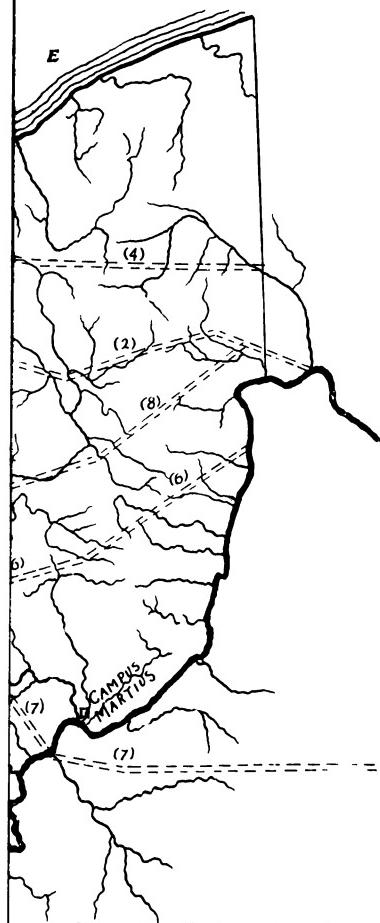
"These trails, but two or three feet in width, traverse the vast expanse from one side to another; you walk in them single-file; if you step aside for a few rods, you may spend the rest of your life trying to find the route again. Around you on every side are the gigantic columns of the forest-trees; overhead, two hundred feet aloft, their boughs and dense foliage make a roof through which no sunshine ever falls; all is as nature made it, except that single narrow thread of thoroughfare, created by human footsteps, none can tell how many thousand years ago. For days, weeks, months, you follow such trails, over thousands of miles; they were laid out without a compass, by the unaided instinct of the savage;

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Map showing routes of
Indian trails with reference to the
sources of streams, indicating the ac-
curacy by which the highlands
were selected.

MAP
OF
INDIAN TRAILS ON WATERSHEDS.

[The evolution of our American highways is described elsewhere. And while noticing the fact that our roads have been coming down hill for a century, it is interesting to recall that this is true of our civilization. Our first towns were on the hilltops, as well as our first roads, and like the roads have come down into the valleys. The need of the motive power furnished by the streams led to the building of mills in the valleys. About the mills sprang up small settlements. The coming of the railway era was the doom of thousands of proud towns and villages, and and the shrill scream of the locomotive sounded the passing of the old thoroughfares on the hills.

Another interesting matter comes up in this connection. After a lecture by the author at Adebert College, Cleveland, a well known Ohio legislator and champion of good roads, took exception to a statement made that the first clearings and farms were along the old highways on the hilltops. There is much evidence that the statement as made was true, and it is an interesting question for discussion. The question refers to the first clearings and farms, not the location of the first settlements and towns. Several writers speak of the early clearing of the hilltops, De Hass, for instance, and the burden of testimony of the pioneers with whom I have talked is that the first farms were on the hills. In such a question there can be no rule to hold true in all cases, but there is a middle ground to take, which, we believe, will incline toward our original view of the matter.]

century rather than "trail," which is the word generally used by the oldest inhabitants of Ohio.¹

The routes of the plunging buffalo, weighing a thousand pounds and capable of covering two hundred miles a day, were well suited to the needs of the Indian. One who has any conception of the west as it was a century and a half ago, who can see the river valleys filled with the immemorial plunder of the river floods, can realize that there was but one practicable passage-way across the land for either beast or man, and that, on the summits of the hills. Here on the hilltops, mounting on the longest ascending ridges, lay the tawny paths of the buffalo and Indian. They were not only *highways*, they were the *highest ways*, and chosen for the best of reasons.²

1. The hilltops offered the driest courses; from them water was shed most quickly and least damage was caused by erosion.
2. The hilltops were windswept; the snow of winter and the leaves of summer were alike driven away, leaving little or nothing to block or obscure the pathway.
3. The hilltops were coigns of vantage for outlook and signalling.

but they bring you by the shortest route from distant sea to sea." — *Cosmopolitan*, November 1899, p. 127.

¹ The two great thoroughfares in Kentucky were on buffalo traces. Boone's road led to the Blue Grass country where Lexington was built. Logan's road left Boone's at Rockcastle Creek and led to Crab Orchard, Bardstown, Bullitt's Lick and Louisville. — Speed's "*Wilderness Road*," p. 27.

² In such a study as the present nothing could be of more value than the testimony offered by the Jesuit missionaries to New France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Citations will constantly be made to this great volume of testimony, sometimes as proof, sometimes in contrast, but always to depict the Indian custom and practice in reference to our subject. Our quotations will be from "*Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*" edited by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites.

The great snow falls of Canada were not experienced south of Lake Erie. It is interesting to note the effect of much snow on the use of Indian trails: "There was everywhere 3 feet of snow; and no paths had yet been made" (*Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. XII, p. 261). "We departed therefore, on the 13th and reached home very late at night, after con-

The following chart gives the names, destinations and routes of the Indian thoroughfares of the central west. Of many trails only a few became prominent. The establishment of forts, as at Detroit and Pittsburg, and of trading stations, rendered certain trails especially important.¹ Of these the following were well known:

siderable trouble — for the paths were only about half a foot wide where the snow would sustain one, and if you turned ever so little to the right or left you were in it half way up to your thighs" (do. Vol. XV, p. 267).

It is quite evident from the records of the Jesuit missionaries that the trails of Canada were not of such importance as routes of travel as were those south of the lakes. The long winters and deep snows rendered them, for the greater part of the year seemingly, well nigh impassible. The rivers were the main routes of travel and the missionaries call both water and land routes "roads" indiscriminately: "the whole length of the road (from the Huron country to Quebec) is full of rapids and precipices." (Do. Vol. XXII, p. 307).

¹ But the Indian trails had much to do with the location of the forts and trading stations. Detroit, Sandusky, Pittsburg, Marietta and Cincinnati were the earliest stragetic points for the whites, for both trade and war, and these were located in naturally stragetic positions. But for the location of the scores of inland forts and trading houses the Indian thoroughfares must have been responsible to a large degree.

RED-MEN'S ROADS.

THE TRAILS OF THE CENTRAL WEST.

No.	Name ¹	Destination	Route ²	Remarks
1	Fort Miami	Fort Miami Lower Shawnee Town	Due northwest from Lower Shawnee Town, on water- shed.	The principal route from southern and southwestern portions of Ohio to De- troit. Used until well into this cen- tury. ³
2	Great Trail	Fort Pitt (Pittsburg, Pa.) Fort Detroit (Detroit, Mich.)	Fort Pitt down Ohio River to mouth of Beaver—north of New Lisbon—Waynesburg— crossed Muskingum River near Bolivar—near Wooster northwest near Castalia— Fremont—River Raisin— Detroit	Also called the Big Trail. This was the most important trail of the cen- tral west, the main thoroughfare from Fort Pitt to Fort Detroit. It was the western extension of the continental route from the seaboard to the north- west, meeting Nemacolin's Path ⁴ which came from Fort Cumberland, which came from Fort Pitt. As will be shown, it was followed by various military ex- peditions and guarded on the Mus- kingum by the first fort built on Ohio soil. For best map, see Hutch- ins, of Northwest; also with "Bo- quet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians." ⁵

¹ The author is responsible for names here given to the Indian trails of Ohio, Nos. 2, 10 and 14 excepted.

² The routes will be given, so far as possible, by towns and villages of to-day.

³ Burnet's Notes, pp. 70, 71.

⁴ "History of Braddock's Expedition," p 200; New England Magazine, Vol. XV.: 299 (Nov. 1896).

⁵ Howe II: 832; "History Wayne County," p. 167.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
3	Lake Shore	Fort Detroit Presq'isle (Erie, Pa.)	Followed highland along the lake shore.	Probably identical with Great Trail between Fort Detroit and Fort Sandusky. Followed by Moravian Indians from their town, Filgerruh, on Cuyahoga, to Milan, Erie County, O. Drawn only on Heckewelder's manuscript map.
4	Mahoning	Fort Pitt Fort Sandusky	Diverged from Great Trail at mouth of Beaver—ascended Beaver and Mahoning rivers—highlands west to Sandusky River—descended river to Fort Sandusky.	Referred to incidentally in Zeisberger's <i>Diary</i> . ¹ Heckewelder's map.
5	Miami	Miami's Towns Cherokee Country	A southern war path from western Ohio.	Not given on most maps and evidently little known by whites and not of much importance to them.
6	Mingo	Wills Town (Duncan's Falls) Mingo Bottoms Steubenville	Across highlands of Noble, Guernsey, Harrison and Jefferson counties.	Possibly a branch of No. 7, leading to upper Ohio River. ²

¹ *Zeisberger's Diary*, Vol. I; pp. 333-341.

² Howe, II.: 627.

³ *History Morgan County*, p. 42.

RED-MEN'S ROADS.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
7	Monongahela	Shawnee Towns on Scioto Monongahela Valley	Across Fairfield and Perry counties to Muskingum River at Stockport; left latter at Big Rock ¹ and ran S. W. to Belpre—crossed Ohio River ² —Dry Ridge ³ —Ten Mile Creek to Monongahela—Fort Byrd.	Well known war path from center of Indian population in Ohio to frontier settlements of Long Knives in southwestern Pennsylvania. Hutchins' maps. Hutchins' map.
8	Moravian	Painted Post ⁴ Gosh-Gosh-ing (Coshocton)	Across highlands of Columbiana, Carroll and Harrison counties.	Probably joined with No. 11 near Coshocton, which made the two trails the common highway from the Indian center of population in Ohio to Fort Pitt and the east. Heckewelder's map.
9	Muskingum	Cuyahoga and Muskingum Valley Route	Ascended Cuyahoga Valley from Lake Erie—crossed Portage Path to Tuscarawas Valley—descended Tuscarawas and Muskingum valleys to Ohio River.	Trail followed river valley on nearest hilltops. ⁵ Probably little used south of Wills Town, except between Stockport and Big Rock. (See No. 7.)

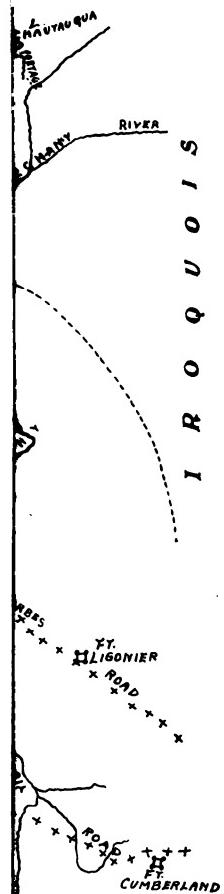
¹ Big Rock was a landmark in the Muskingum Valley. It was a huge rock in the Muskingum River, about half a mile above the Lake Chute station of the Zanesville & Ohio River Railway, near the beginning of the present railway "cut" through the hill. It was the object point of one of the first roads built by the Ohio Company.

² *Sketches of Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1864), p. 204.

³ Indian camp in Columbiana County, on Great Trail, between branches of Yellow Creek.

⁴ *History of Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys*: p. 138.

I R O Q U O I S



AN THOROUGHFARE
OF
OHIO
BED ON HUTCHINS

MAP
OF
INDIAN THOROUGHFARES OF THE CENTRAL WEST.

[The general plan of this map is that of Hutchins. Several Indian trails and Indian villages have been added from other maps, making it perhaps the most complete map of the populated portion of the central west published. It will be noticed that it does not include the western portion. This is owing to the fact that the old maps give almost no Indian trails west of central Ohio, showing the absolute ignorance which existed of it when the central and southern portions were quite well known. The Indian trails are numbered to correspond with the chart. The three centers of Indian population should be noted, that of the Wyandots on the western shores of Lake Erie, where they settled about 1701; that of the Delawares, between the Ohio and Muskingum and westward, whither they came from the eastern valley whose name they bore between 1740 and 1750; and the Shawnees in the Scioto Valley, which they occupied after 1740. By the middle of last century the Indian population in Ohio was fully determined. Counting four to a family there may have been twelve thousand Indians in the present Ohio in 1770, but as Ohio became the general fighting ground the northern and western nations hurried their warriors eastward to the border, and in 1779 there were possibly ten thousand warriors alone within the confines of the northern old Ohio. Boquet's route is marked conspicuously, as in Braddock's Road and Forbes'.]

(13)

RED-MEN'S ROADS.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
10	Sandusky-Richmond (Va.)	Fort Sandusky Richmond, Va.	Ascended Sandusky Valley, crossed portage, descended Scioto to Lower Shawnee Town; across Hocking, Vin- ton and Meigs counties to mouth of Great Kanawha; ascended Great Kanawha through mountains.	Important fur route between Virginia and the lake country; also most di- rect route to central Ohio from south- ern seaboard colonies. Hutchins' map. ¹
11	Scioto	Scioto Valley	Ascended Sandusky River and descended Scioto to Ohio.	Identical with No. 10 between Fort Sandusky and Lower Shawnee Town; one of the greatest war paths in the west, leading southward into "War- riors' Path" to land of the Cherokees and Catawbas.
12	Scioto-Beaver	Lower Shawnee Town Beaver Valley		Ran eastward from Scioto to Muskingum Valley, meeting No. 8 near junction of Wal- honding and Tuscarawas. Extension ran westward to Miami Valley from Lower Shawnee Town.

¹ *History of Morgan County*, p. 42.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
13	Venango	Fort Pitt Fort Presq'isle	Ran due north from Fort Venango. Followed French Creek northward to Fort Le Boeuf and across portage to Presq'isle, on Lake Erie.	Important trail in days of French regime, as will appear, especially over the noted portage of twenty miles from Lake Erie to Fort Le Boeuf, on French Creek.
14	Warriors' Path	Cumberland Gap Lake Erie	Ran due north from Cumberland Gap to Lake Erie.	Identical with No. 11, north of Ohio River. The main primeval thoroughfare of the southern half of the old Ohio. ¹

¹"*Wilderness Road*": p. 26.

Advancing civilization has made the valley and hillside blossom as the rose; the rivers are dredged until they look little as they did in the old days; great chasms have been hewn through hill and mountain by the railways—but the rough summits of the hills are left much as they were. And here on the highlands, which were to the trade and travel of the olden time what our through trunk railways are to us, one may still follow the serpentine highways of the buffalo and Indian with as perfect assurance, in many cases, as he may follow the railway, turnpike or tow-path in the valley below. The writer's sources of information have been, then; 1: a bibliography covering the many narratives, diaries and memoirs, and the works written upon them, which have come down to us from last century; 2: Personal exploration and interviews with many of that race of pioneers who knew this west when the Indian thoroughfares were its main routes of travel.¹

Compare any good geological or topographical map of Ohio with one of the old maps of last century, Hutchin's, Heckewelder's or Evan's, and it will not be difficult to determine, theoretically, the courses of the old highways.² Among the several guiding principles one is of very great help, and that, the general rule that the trails kept faithfully on the summit of the watersheds—for even what may be termed valley trails, as distinct from cross-country trails, kept well away from the river courses, often a mile or more back on the highlands.³ Having once de-

¹ Among many the author owes a special debt of thanks, greater or less as the case may be, to the following gentlemen: Rev. David Yant of Bolivar; Mr. J. C. Zutavern of Zoar; Mr. Obadiah Brokaw of Stockport; Bishop Van Vleck of Gnadenhutten; Mr. F. C. Kinsey, Tuscarawas Co.; Mr. John Hovey of Akron; also J. Hope Sutor, Esq. of Zanesville; and the Hon. R. M. Stimson of Marietta.

²For early maps see Baldwin's "Early Maps of Ohio and the West," tract twenty-five, Vol. 1. "Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society Publications" (April, 1875). Also appended list of maps in possession of same society.

³ Le Jeune wrote "The road to the Savages' cabins was very bad; it was necessary to ascend a very steep mountain." (*Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. XI, p. 91). "Steep rugged hills were to be climb," wrote one who followed Braddock's army through the Alleghanies on the Indian road; "headlong declivities to be descended, down which the cannon and wagons



**"Punch and Judy shows came
that way" — p. 31.**

terminated the course of a given trail it is ordinarily an easy task, by inquiring in the region through which it passed, to prove by living witnesses its actual course. There is not a main Indian thoroughfare which is not possible to identify, in portions at least, by means of the testimony of living men. Trails (7), (2) and (4) are especially interesting to locate, because they are cross-country trails and follow so faithfully the highland ranges. The author has never attempted to follow trail (6); but has as little doubt of its being capable of easy identification as of its former existence.

It may be valuable to give a detailed description of some of the important trails, if only to show what information it is yet possible to obtain of them:

MONONGAHELA TRAIL (7).
(VIRGINIAN DIVISION.)

Left Old Chillicothe — met Muskingum trail north of Stockport, Morgan Co., O. — left Muskingum valley at Big Rock — crossed Ohio river at Belpre, Washington Co., O. — passed Neal's Station (now Baltimore and Ohio station Ewing's) to Turtle Run — went north of Kanawha Station — over Eaton's Tunnel, B. & O. R'y. — on Dry Ridge northeast into Dodridge Co., W. Va. — through Martin's woods — north of Greenwood to Center Station — east to West Union tunnel ("No. 6" or Gorham's) — thence to headwaters of Middle Island creek — up Middle Island creek to Tom's Fork — on into Harrison county to headwaters of Ten Mile creek — down creek to Monongahela river. The course of this trail was described to the writer by an old Virginian mountaineer who lived near it and who hunted upon it when it was what the Baltimore and Ohio railway is in this day to that rugged country. The testimony of Dr. Hildreth in his chapter on "Carpenter's Bar" in "*Pioneer Sketches*" proves the correctness of the description, so far as it goes. The trail may be identified above the tunnels mentioned, or by striking south to Dry Ridge from the station Petroleum on the Baltimore and Ohio railway.

were lowered with blocks and tackle." (Journal in "*History of Braddock's Expedition*," p. 203).

THE GREAT TRAIL (2).

The great trail from Fort Pitt to Detroit descended the Ohio river from Fort Pitt to the mouth of the Big Beaver — struck northwest to headwaters of Yellow Creek — passed north of New Lisbon on highlands between headwaters of Big Beaver streams and Yellow Creek — came down into Big Sandy valley — passed near Bayard, Columbiana Co., Pekin (now Minerva), Stark Co., Waynesburg and Sandyville, crossing Nimishillen creek half mile above Sandyville — crossed Muskingum (now Tuscarawas) at the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" at the new mouth of Big Sandy — struck northwest, passing through old Baptist burying ground one-half mile south of Wooster—crossed the Killbuck north of the bridge on the Ashland road — westward near present site of Reedsburg to the Indian town, Mohican John's town — thence northwest near the present Castalia, Erie Co., to Fort Sandusky on Sandusky Bay — thence by River Raisin and Detroit river to Fort Detroit. Two living men, Mr. J. C. Zutavern, of Zoar, and the venerable Rev. David Yant, of Bolivar, described the course of the Great Trail from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum to the writer without contradictions. Mr. Zutavern came to Ohio from Fort Pitt in 1819, but crossed the Ohio river at Wellsville, Columbiana Co., met the Great Trail near Bayard and followed it thence to the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" (Bolivar).

MUSKINGUM TRAIL (9).

[IN TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.]

Take for instance this, the Muskingum trail, in Tuscarawas county, to show how fully men yet living may be able to describe the course of the old time highway. The writer learns that descending the Muskingum (now Tuscarawas) on the western bank, it crossed Sugar Creek near the present site of Canal Dover — crossed Stone creek at its mouth — crossed Old Town creek at its mouth — thence on the highland farms of A. W. Patrick, A. Rupert, David Anderson, Elia Mathias, Chas. Kinsey (who was the writer's guide), P. F. Kinsey, Sweitzer heirs — crossed Frye's creek — farms of B. Gross and Wyant — fol-

0 X F O R D

MAP
OF
TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.

[The map of Tuscarawas County will show that it may be possible to map the entire central west if all the ground were covered carefully. On the northern line is the famous "Crossing Place of the Muskingum," on the Great Trail from Fort Pitt to Fort Detroit. This ford is one of the most famous in the west. Its exact site has been pointed out to the writer by the venerable David Yant. It was exactly at the spot where the Big Sandy now enters the Tuscarawas, having broken from its ancient course and reaching the river some distance from the old time estuary. Half a mile south of the site of the old ford may be seen the site of Fort Laurens, the first fort built in Ohio. Colonel Boquet followed the Great Trail from Fort Pitt, but turned south after crossing the river, following the route indicated toward the Delaware capitol at Gosh-gos-hing (Coshocton). The river trail (Muskingum) came down the river and illustrates what has been said concerning river trails keeping away from the river itself in order to follow the most practicable course. The author has also mapped this trail by townships, showing its course through each farm. Every inch of this county is worthy of the most searching investigation. Near the old-time highway lies the dust of the heroic Zeisberger. From it are seen the quiet hamlets of Gnadenhutten and Shoenbrunn, and the rise of ground which marks the site of Fort Laurens. It is the most historic of all Ohio's interior counties, indeed, with the exception of Washington, the most historic county in the state.]

(19)

lowed Tuscarawas to site of Moravian town, Salem (now Port Washington) — thence turned westward onto hills toward Chili, Coshocton county.

MONONGAHELA TRAIL (7).
(OHIO DIVISION.)

Crossed Fairfield and Perry counties coming from the Scioto valley — descended Wolf creek in Morgan county to Mills Hall farm — thence over the highland and down ridge thirty rods east of Eve's schoolhouse — Little Wolf creek on farm formerly owned by Jeremiah Stevens on old Harmar and Lancaster road — thence over ridge to William Pickett farm on branch of Bald Eagle creek — down creek to hills behind Stockport — thence onto Wallace Ridge between Stockport and Roxbury stations of the Zanesville and Ohio River R'y. (where picture was taken as shown in frontispiece, opposite site of Big Bottom Blockhouse) — left Muskingum at Big Rock, one-half mile above railway station Luke Chute — crossed over the ridge and crossed the west branch of Wolf Creek at the mouth of Turkey Run — through farm of George Conner — through Quigley flats — crossed south branch of Wolf creek about two miles above its junction with the west branch — thence due southeast on highlands to a point opposite the mouth of the Little Kanawha — thence to Monongahela as described under Virginian division

The historical side of our subject is capable of indefinite expansion. The Indian trails of the old Ohio were the keys to the central west. They opened a way for men to come to know and exploit it. The story of the first adventurers who followed these trails beyond "the Great Mountains" is of intense interest. To Walker and Boone and Gist and Washington, men who lived on and beside the winding trails of the west, we owe our first knowledge of the land and the first endeavors to awaken a desire to reclaim it from savage hands.¹

¹ In "Extracts from '*An Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies*'" in Darlington's "*Journals of Christopher Gist*" (p. 271), we find this tribute to the trader in informing the world of the West: "The Map of Ohio, and its Branches, as well as the Passes through

Christopher Gist employed trails 2,¹ 12, 11, 1, and 14, while exploring the west for the first Ohio Company. George Washington knew every mile of Nemacolin's Path from Fort Cumberland, Md., to the "Forks of the Ohio." In his mission to Fort la Boeuf he traversed No. 13 from the present site of Pittsburgh.

In addition to the explorers and spies, the brave missionaries came westward on the Indian trails. In some instances they were the first white men to travel certain trails. "Why does the pale-face travel so unknown a road," called an old Seneca chieftain from the door of his lodge to the heroic Zeisberger, pushing westward, "this is no road for white people and no white man has come this trail before." One of the most interesting maps made of early Ohio is in the handwriting of John Heckewelder, so long a faithful Moravian missionary in the Muskingum valley. This gives several trails not given on other maps. The knowledge gained by the first missionaries to the central west of the Indian nations and the geography of the land, was often of greatest value to the United States in peace and in war. The men who came into the central west in the hope of Christianizing the redman were fit successors to the brave "black robes" of the St. Lawrence and Huron country, whose heroism stands unparalleled in the annals of missionary endeavor.

If the Indian trails were useful to explorers in the west, they were indispensable to the first armies. Single men could, in time, push their way through pathless forests. For bodies of men hastening to a certain goal, carrying on their backs a limited supply of food, this was out of the question. Consequently, when the Indian thoroughfares of the west are once

the Mountains Westward, is laid down by the Information of Traders and others, who have resided there, and travelled them for many years together."

¹ Monday (Nov.) 26 (1750): "From this Place (Logg's Town) We left the River Ohio to the S E & travelled across the Country." (*Gist's Journals*, p. 35). Mr. Gist on this trail — 2 — gave his courses "N 45 W 10 M, & N 45 W 8 M," which Mr. Darlington corrected to "W 8 M and N 45 W 6 M. Do., p. 36.)

outlined, an interesting introduction to the "winning of the west" is gained. These routes show at once the availability of certain rivers as highways for the transportation of troops and supplies; they show at a glance the strategic military points, where, in many cases, fort or stockade arose; and they indicate the distribution and the centers of Indian population. The rivers, save the Ohio, ran north and south. The Indian trails ran, largely, east and west. The conquest was westward; and it is to be noted that it was made river valley by river valley until at last the conquest, begun on the Monongahela and little Bushy Run, was ended in triumph at Tippecanoe on the Wabash. First the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers were reclaimed and held by Boquet, who avenged Braddock's Ford at Bushy Run (1762). In the year following Boquet advanced to the Muskingum, where he firmly brought the Delaware and Shawanese contingent of Pontiac's host to terms. A decade later Lewis won the decisive battle of Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Great Kanawha and secured all the benefits for Kentucky settlers formerly granted by the Stanwix treaty, but which had been repudiated by the arrogant Shawanese of the Scioto Valley. Half a decade later General McIntosh pushed through to the Muskingum and built Fort Laurens "to serve as a bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country" (1778). At this time we may consider the Muskingum valley to have been reclaimed, for the next step westward was Crawford's campaign directed toward the Sandusky valley. It resulted in failure, but the conquest of the Scioto and Sandusky valleys was achieved by the Kentuckians in the border wars waged from 1780 to 1785. Another determined step was made in 1790 and was toward the Maumee and Wabash, which were finally reclaimed by the treaty of Greenville, wrung by Wayne from the disconcerted allied nations under Little Turtle in 1795. Thus the conquest of the central west was by river valleys, on Indian trails. For, to restate the story of this conquest in the terms suggested by our present study, we should say: The first military movement in the central west was the building of the French military road from Presqu'ile to Fort La Boeuf, on French Creek, in 1753. This road was twenty



HECKEWELDER'S MAP
OF NORTHEASTERN OHIO,
1796.

HECKEWELDER'S MANUSCRIPT MAP.

It is unnecessary to state who John Heckewelder was or why the map from his pen is of great value and interest. Several trails are here given which are not to be found on any other maps; the branching trail from the Mahoning to Great Trail, and the Lake Shore Trail; also the trail from the Crossing Place of the Muskingum to the Portage Path in Summit County. No map gives the trail up the Walhounding and Vernon rivers, which was travelled by a portion of the Moravian pilgrims when driven from the Muskingum. It would be expected that Heckewelder would give it, but he does not.]

(23)

miles in length and followed the alignment of the Venango trail, or 13. This road was used in bringing forward the fortification for the line of French forts between Lake Erie and the Ohio river.¹

Two years later Braddock was sent westward to capture Fort Duquesne. His advance corps of six hundred choppers cleared the way for the army following Nemacolin's Path, at least as far as the present site of Uniontown, Pa., whence the road swung northward to the memorable ford.² In 1762 Boquet was sent westward from Philadelphia to annihilate Pontiac's allies who were doggedly beleaguring Fort Pitt. At Bushy Run, in a terrible three days' battle, he confirmed the dying Braddock's words, "We shall do better next time," and soon after raised the siege of Fort Pitt. In the year following, consequent upon orders, Boquet began a further westward conquest, across the Ohio river. His was the first military expedition into the present state of Ohio, and it followed the course of the Great Trail from Fort Pitt to the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum."³ In Dunmore's war Lewis was sent over the Sandusky-Richmond trail from Virginia to compel the Shawnee to acknowledge the Fort Stanwix treaty. In 1778 General McIntosh was sent with an expedition toward Detroit. He built a road straight

¹ *Hist. Erie Co. Penn.*

² "The truth is, that Sir John (St. Clair) implicitly followed the path that Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian, had marked out or blazed for the Ohio Company some years before, and which, a very little widened, had served the transient purposes of that association and of Washington's party in 1754." Journals in "*History of Braddock's Expedition*," p. 200. Of Braddock's battlefield we read in the same volume (p. 355), "The place of action was covered with large trees, and much underbrush upon the left, without any opening but the road, which was about twelve foot wide." Warfare along the trails of Canada is often noted by the Jesuit missionaries: "These murders are imputed to the enemies who throughout the summer and autumn are in ambuses along the roads." (*Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. XX. p. 75); "As for the war their (Huron) losses have been greater than their enemies; for the whole matter consisting of a few broken heads along the highways" (do. XIX, p. 81). Also see "*Sketches of Pioneer History*, pp. 205, 206.

³ See map accompanying "*Boquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians*," pp. 149-152.



An almost impassable portion of the Muskingum trail ascending a wooded hill-side south of New Philadelphia, Ohio. On the lower (left hand) side a three foot embankment remains as solid as when built, probably in the Revolutionary period.
— p. 31.

west from Fort Pitt to the Ohio, built Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Beaver river, and then marched over the Great Trail to the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" where Fort Laurens was erected, "in the heart of the enemies' country." Although he intended to avoid all Indian trails,¹ Colonel Crawford's ill-starred expedition did follow an Indian trail even before reaching the Muskingum;² and, later, the battle was fought in the forks of the two trails and the retreat was conducted along a trail³ to the Muskingum and "Williamson's trace"⁴ from the Muskingum to the Ohio.

In 1790 Harmar was sent northward, building his road from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) to Fort Jefferson on the general alignment, probably, of a northward trail. St. Clair was annihilated in attempting to retrieve Harmar's mistakes, but the wily Wayne pushed on, now by Indian trail, now through pathless swamps (meriting the name given him by the savages, "Black Snake"⁵) and settled forever the question of white man's conquest at Fallen Timbers. Dr. Belknap's map, appended, is not only valuable in giving Wayne's route, but also for giving the general course of the diverging trails from Maumee southward. A chart giving Indian trails with their use to the armies which completed the conquest of Ohio from the savages may be in place:

¹ Letter of Rose to Irving 13th June, 1782 (In State Department, Washington). Cf. *Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky*, p. 138.

² Do., p. 202.

³ Do., p. 221.

⁴ A blazed trace from Ohio river, Mingo Bottom, straight west to Muskingum river. Followed by Williamson's band of murderers who committed the Gnadenhutten outrage.

⁵ Wayne built Fort Recovery on St. Clair's battlefield, June 1794. To deceive Little Turtle he then turned west to St. Mary's River and built Fort Adams. In July, he doubled his track and built Fort Defiance at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee.

Trails	Military Roads	Remarks
Venango (13)	French road Ft. Presq'-isle-Ft. LeBoeuf (1753)	Furnished armament and supplies for French forts in Ohio.
Nemacolin's Path (See 2)	Braddock's Road (1755)	Departed from path near present Uniontown, Pa.
Great Trail (2)	Boquet's Road (1763)	Expedition ended Pontiac's war in Ohio.
Sandusky-Richmond (10)	Lewis' route to Point Pleasant	Expedition secured freedom for Kentucky settlers.
Great Trail (2)	McIntosh's route to Muskingum	Expedition erected Forts Laurens and McIntosh.
Miami (5) (?)	Harmar's Road N. from Ft. Washington	Opened way for Wayne.
Ft. Miami (1)	Wayne's route to Fallen Timbers	Resulted in Treaty of Greenville and peace.
Mingo (6)	"Federal Trail" ¹	

After spies, explorers, missionaries and armies came the deluge—of pioneers. History furnishes no parallel to this instantaneous filling of an imperial domain with a free population, achieving almost on the instant of occupation a large measure of the blessings of liberty. The population of Kentucky increased 300 per cent. in a decade and Ohio and Indiana almost equalled this. Thousands of immigrants to Kentucky and Ohio came by the Ohio river, after compassing the difficult journey over Braddock's Road. But more came by land

¹ *History of Morgan County*, p. 126.

MAP
OF
WAYNE'S ROUTE ALONG THE MAUMEE.

[This map is a copy from the original by Dr. Belknap, now in the library at Harvard, and the only map of Wayne's campaign. It is to be regretted that it does not comprehend the army's entire route from Fort Washington (Cincinnati). It will be noticed that the Miami Trail descending the Auglaize is given, also diverging paths from Fort Wayne, by which General Wayne came from the south. From Fort Wayne a dotted line is given as the route of the portage path, between the Maumee and Wabash. This portage path was one of the most important in the northern half of the old Ohio, being one of the original French routes from the lakes to the Mississippi. The course of the path is today practically the route of the Wabash Railway. In many instances the old routes of travel, which followed the path of least resistance, have become the route of railway beds today.¹ This is true here; it is also true of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, through the passes in the Allegheny Mountains, which followed the portage path between the New and Great Kanawha rivers.]

¹ *Ohio in 1788* p. 75; Howe II, 831.

over Warrior's Path through Cumberland Gap.¹ This was the second most famous continental thoroughfare, being somewhat lessened in importance by the building of the National Road over Braddock's Road and through Ohio to Kentucky. But the Cumberland Gap route never lost its importance and offers to-day, perhaps more than any road in the central west, a journey of surpassing interest to the tourist who dares undertake it. The route early became known as the "Wilderness Road." It was marked out by the sturdy hand of Daniel Boone. In 1775 the Transylvania Company, with Colonel Richard Henderson as head, engaged Boone to mark out a road from Fort Wataga, on a branch of the Holston, to the Kentucky river, where the company's newly-purchased lands lay. "This I accepted," wrote Boone, "and undertook to mark out a road in the best passage through the wilderness to Kentucky with such assistance as I thought necessary to employ for such an important undertaking."² Boone's road went through Cumberland Gap over the course of the "Warrior's Path," but at some distance from the gap left the Indian trail and followed a buffalo trace toward the desired destination, the mouth of Otter creek on the Kentucky river. Here Fort Boonesborough was erected. As clearly shown by Mr. Speed in his most valuable mono-

¹ Two publications, one a monograph and the other a magazine article, comprise all the previous work in the study of old highways so far as the author knows. The monograph, Speed's "*Wilderness Road*" is one, and R. G. Thwaite's article in the *New England Magazine* (November 1896) on Braddock's Road is the other. To the *Wilderness Road* the author owes a great debt for information and inspiration. On Mr. Speed's authority we make the startling assertion above; "*Wilderness Road*," pp. 11, 22, 23 and 42.

Among the many references in many books to Indian trails the author cannot refrain from quoting one which is out of the ordinary. It is from Douglass' *History of Wayne Co. O.*, p. 166: "These brigands and vagrants, no doubt like other birds of passage, had their chosen and well understood courses of travel, but to assume to trace or define them would be playing spendthrift with time and a culpable distortion of the legitimate bent of investigation. Nor is it important to indulge what must be bald fancy and gratuitous speculation on a matter so sterile of historical uses and so profitless to the public."

² Boone's *Autobiography*; also *Wilderness Road*, pp. 25, 26.

graph, Boone's route became a momentous factor in the early history of Kentucky. To be sure the Ohio river was the great highway thither, but it was not until near the beginning of this century that that river became the customary route, for previous to that time river traveling was exceedingly dangerous and boat building and the hazardous risks to be encountered in sailing decided many thousands to undertake the longer but surer land route over the "Wilderness Road." When, however, the National Road was built from Cumberland to the Ohio river, 1823, and shipping facilities were available, the Wilderness Road became, comparatively, forgotten. Yet it had been used long enough to influence decidedly the distribution of population in the southern half of the old Ohio, tomahawk claims along its course becoming thriving villages, villages becoming cities and the meadow lands at its destination becoming the home of the hardiest race of men, according to the most ingenious of our scholars, in all our republic.

But not only did the great continental routes, Braddock's Road and the Wilderness Road, serve the pioneer; the maze of minor trails leading into every portion of the land invited him onward into the perennial twilight of the woods. It is a fair question, and introduces an interesting theme, to ask, "What proportion of the interior population of the west made its way by water and what proportion by land routes?"

The testimony of all with whom the writer has conversed and who knew whereof they spoke, renders it possible to believe that the more careful the investigation the clearer it will be proved that the Indian trails and not the rivers were the routes of the early settlers into the interior. The following sentence from one of the histories of an interior county (but on a navigable river) is pertinent: "James Oglesby was a very early settler in the township, some say the earliest. He also came from Virginia and is said to have travelled up the Muskingum and Walhounding rivers, in true Indian style, in a canoe."¹ This occurs in a twenty-five page account of the early settlements in the county, and of few settlers is it

¹ Hunt's *Historical Collections of Coshocton County*, p. 87.

suggested that they came by a water route. In this connection, however, it is well to remember that the very vanguard of the pioneer host did not usually settle anywhere permanently. There was a familiar expression, "following the emigration," which reveals the adventurous spirit of the times. Pioneers came and settled in what was an unbroken wilderness. In a few years the district began to fill and the first comers would pull up stakes and advance westward another stage. Thus the first settlers in any given district of Ohio and Indiana often hailed from only a short distance away, and it is not possible to believe that they came by a long, difficult water-route. This was usually the case, with notable exceptions of course, and quite precludes the argument that water routes were chosen by the first of the emigrant army. And those who came in the wake of others who had "followed the emigration," came by the same routes.

An interesting proof of the use made of Indian trails by the white man is found in the blazed trees which line them. There is not an important trail in Ohio which is not blazed, and it is wellknown that the redmen were not in the habit of blazing their trails.¹ The writer has been over Indian trails in other parts of the country (Northern Michigan and Canada) where the trees were not blazed. Why the white man found it necessary to blaze the well worn paths along their whole extent, and in spots where there was not the remotest possibility of one's losing his way, does not appear to the writer. But such is the case, and upon the high summit of the long ranges of hills one may to-day see upon the aged tree trunks savage gashes made

¹ The author has been surprised to find that it is the popular opinion that Indians blazed their paths. To those interested a study of the following references will prove that no such custom existed among the Indians: *Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. VII: 109; Vol. XIX: 45, 129. *The Wilderness Road*, p. 15. The borderers of Kentucky were drawn into the fatal battle of Blue Licks because they followed headlong the route of the wily Indians, who by blazing the trees and leaving garments on the ground made it seem that they were in full retreat. These un-Indian signs rendered Daniel Boone suspicious, but his advice was unheeded and a massacre was the result. For similar incident see *History of the Maumee Valley*, pp. 86 and 107; cf. *History of Hamilton County*, p. 221; *History of Muskingum County*, p. 67.



**"the old highway has never been
closed up"—p. 34.**

not less than a century ago, as the writer has ascertained by a study of the blazes made in Washington county on roads laid out by the surveyors of the Ohio Company, 1795-1800.

In one instance, on the Monongahela trail on Wallace Ridge, Morgan county, as one passes northward along the ridge, a line of blazed trees is found running from the trail at right angles, to a mass of rocks, distant about a hundred yards, wherein a cave offered a night's protection, or a spring, no sign of which exists today, may have refreshed the wayfarer. Everyone from whom information has been acquired testifies that the Indian trails were common blazed routes of travel for the pioneers. The Muskingum trail in Tuscarawas county has every appearance of having been carefully built. At one place on a hillside the embankment on the lower side is three feet high and seemingly as strong as ever. An old man living on the line of this trail affirmed that he could recall early in the century, when the trail was commonly used, and he remembered with the vivid recollections of youth the coming of the travelling Punch and Judy shows that way. Yet a study of the records in the Recorder's office at the county seat, New Philadelphia, fail to throw any light on the subject, although the record of road building goes back to 1797. Mr. Zutavern, already quoted, traversed the old highway from Pittsburg to Laurenceville, as the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" was known early in the century, in 1819. He came over the roadway built from Fort Pitt straight west to the Ohio river by General McIntosh, crossing the Ohio at Wellsville and striking northwest until the Great Trail was met near Bayard. This was perhaps the general route of pioneer travel from Pittsburg to central Ohio. It was then, in 1819, a rough, wide Indian trail and unimproved. The trail from Ft. Presqu'ile to French Creek, the line of Marin's military road of 1753, became a notable thoroughfare early in the century. This "Watertown turnpike" was really a portage path between Lake Erie and the Alleghany. Over it great quantities of salt were forwarded by water to Pittsburg and Louisville, and, in return, glass and flour came up from the Monongahela country and bacon from Kentucky en route to the east.¹ Travellers

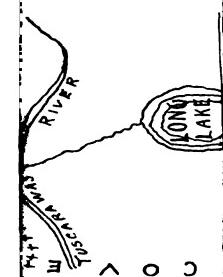
¹ Egle's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 271.

leave record of the strange appearance of this old roadway. In the expectation of making it a military road in the European sense, the course had been grubbed by hauling out the stumps of the felled trees. Great cavities were left and never filled.¹ However it served for hauling cannon toward Forts La Boeuf, Venango and Duquesne.

Not only were the Indian trails used largely by the pioneers, opening the way to a distribution of population over the face of the land, but they became the course of our first roads. The day of the ridge road is not long passed and in most instances the ridge road was only the trail of the buffalo, Indian and pioneer, widened and improved. The first road upon which Kentucky spent money was the old trail, blazed by Boone, through Cumberland Gap. The National Road from Cumberland, Md., to Wheeling, W. Va., Zanesville, Ohio, Maysville, Ky., and Lexington, Ky., followed the famous Braddock Road, as already stated, at least as far as Uniontown, Pa. From Wheeling to Zanesville and on to the Ohio river again it followed Zane's trace, which did not, probably, follow an Indian trail². The money behind this epoch-making enterprise made it possible to push this road straight through. While climbing a country road in West Virginia the writer noted the trees which were blazed by the first surveyors, the gashes of which are still yawning. As the road reached the summit it met and crossed the Monongahela trail, not far from the spot where Tecumseh's murderous banditti opened fire upon Nicholas Carpenter, Jesse Hughes and party, just as Carpenter began his morning devotions and was singing the old West End Baptist hymn, "*Awake our souls, away our fears.*" At the junction of the two thoroughfares stands an aged tree. On the side toward the country road was the fresh, ugly blaze of the road surveyors. On the side toward the trail was the deep, partly-healed blaze of the Long Knives — two trade marks of the two centuries. In one instance the writer, while following the Mus-

¹ *History Erie County (Penn.)*

² But vide *History of Muskingum County*, p. 67, which affirms that Zane's trace ran nearly with a trail; perhaps general alignment of Mingo trail for a distance.



MAP
OR
PORTAGE PATH.

[No oldtime highway in Ohio is of more historic interest than the Portage Path in Summit County, at least in proportion to its length. It is probably one of the oldest highways in the west, having been the route of the buffaloes across the summit of the State. In later years it became the portage for the Indians from the lake country to the streams flowing south to the country of their enemies, the Creeks and Cherokees and Mobilians. It may have been traversed by La Salle on his trip to the Ohio, but he probably followed the Lake Chautauqua-Allegheny route. Some hold that he came through Ohio, and the argument, at least, suggests the importance of this portage path. It is said in the text that it is possible to know the exact course of this path for the entire distance of eight miles. Maps of Summit County are still to be seen bearing a faint line which marks its course. The author, after several visits, has become acquainted with the ground. From two men, Mr. John Hovey, of Akron, and Rev. David Yant, of Bolivar, he has obtained descriptions of the path in early days of this century. Merchandise from Cleveland was brought up the Cuyahoga river, over the portage and down the Tuscarawas to the inland settlements. Mr. Hovey remembers, particularly, the bewildering circuitousness of the trail as it came from the hills and approached the Cuyahoga. In the city of Akron the writer found the original survey of this path, made in 1797 by Moses Warren. It is an interesting and highly amusing document. The length of the path was found to be eight miles, four chains and 55 links.]

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kingum trail in Tuscarawas county, was informed by an old resident that, if he continued a certain number of miles he would find himself in a good travelled road. This proved to be true — the old highway has never been closed up and one may drive, if on horseback, freely from the best of county roads into the old-time Indian highway without hindrance, as shown in the accompanying photograph. The old Portage Path between the Tuscarawas and Cuyahoga rivers in Summit county, was one of the most important trails for its length (eight miles) in the state. Having been defined as a portion of the western boundary of the United States in the treaties of Fort McIntosh (1785) and Fort Harmar (1789), this narrow trail became a significant landmark. In studying this subject the writer found that all the surveys made east of this trail were of a different kind from those made on the western side at a later date, and that the course of this trail was indicated much of the way by a line fence. The course of this trail has always been marked by a faint line on the maps of Summit county. A new road has been building between these self-same streams, and in August, '98, it had crossed the old path seven times in seven miles and for some distances the two courses are identical. Thus the tripod has been as successful in finding the path of least resistance as was the instinct of the buffalo! Another chart may be useful in bringing out distinctly the further historical development of certain trails:

Trails	Military Roads	Public Roads
Nemacolin's Path	Braddock's Road	National Road as far as Uniontown, Pa.
Warriors' Path		Blazed by Boone from Ft. Watauga, Tenn., to Boonesboro, Ky. (200 miles). Great pioneer route through Cumberland Gap.
Venango	French military road, Lake Erie to Allegheny River.	General course of Watertown (Pa.) Pike.
Miami (?)	Harmar's Road north from Fort Washington (Cincinnati)	Old "Hamilton" and "Eaton" Roads.
Muskingum	Possibly route of Broadhead's army in Co-shocton campaign.	Public Road in Tuscarawas County in early years of the century.
Mahoning		Early traders' route from Pittsburgh to Detroit (by water from Cleveland) described by Col. James Hilman.
Portage Paths	Tuscarawas - Cuyahoga, O. Maumee-Wabash, Ind. New-Kanawha, W. Va.	Practically route of present road. ¹ General course of Wabash Railway. General course of Chesapeake & Ohio Railway.
Ft. Miami	Wayne's route	Road from Napoleon, Henry County, down Maumee practically identical with Wayne's route.

¹ See Note on map of Portage Path.

To one to whom such things appeal, nothing in cabinet or museum will create a more living interest in our past than to find one of the old-time thoroughfares and walk upon it — to see the valley and meadow from the Indian's points of vantage. To one who is imaginative, the old century comes back, and trail and forest are peopled. Border armies will hurry by carrying weapons strange to our eyes and dressed in fashions not in vogue to-day. The stream of immigrants will pass, the hard lines of rough faces speaking of the toil and suffering which made our present civilization possible. The subject, again, is the more interesting because of the sources of information which one must consult, the narratives and journals written in the olden time and living witnesses, too many of whom by far are carrying to the grave each day precious facts which can never afterward be revealed. The field work required, demanding no great expense, is not without pleasure and romance. It is safe travelling the Indian trails to-day; the poll tax once required on the old highways by redskin highwaymen is not collected in these days. Not a lone Indian will be found overlooking the spot "where he used to be born." Those who once pushed their horses along historic Harmar Hill with scalps dangling from the manes, or went whooping down the Mahoning and Scioto or toyed with the gate of Wolf Creek mill are now hunting the souls of the moose and beaver in the Land of the Souls, "walking on the souls of their snowshoes on the soul of the snow." But they have left their trails behind them — and nothing else, perhaps, so interesting, so pregnant with varied memories, so rich in historical suggestion.

"The ports ye shall not enter
The roads ye shall not tread
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead."

And yet this has been our mission for a century. We have waited in heavy harness on "fluttered folk and wild." We have made our roads with our living and marked them all the way from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate with our dead. In more than one Ohio valley may be found an Indian trail on

the hilltop, a pioneer road winding along hillside and on summit, and a good pike in the valley, well built, scientifically drained. Each type of road speaks of the civilization which built it and between these three faint lines one may read the story of the hard-earned century now passing away.



"From the Indian's point
of vantage."

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